The CRISIS

APRIL, 1961 15¢

"The Constitution does not provide for first and second class citizens"

—WENDELL WILKIE

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A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES

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LaVerne Jenkins of New Rochelle, N. Y., is a graduate of the New Rochelle High School and the Albert Leonard Vocational School. She is a member of the NAACP. Photo by Cecil Layne.

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Russ Carter

"WOMAN OF THE YEAR"—*Mrs. Daisy Bates of Little Rock, Arkansas, was awarded a plaque as "Woman of the Year," for her continuous distinguished contribution to civil rights, at the annual-dinner of the Orange-Maplewood, N. J., branch. Senator Clifford P. Case of New Jersey, guest speaker, praised Mrs. Bates and the NAACP for their work in advancing the cause of civil rights and freedom in the USA and throughout the world. Other speakers included Congressman Hugh J. Oddonizio of the 11th New Jersey District, N. J., and Mayor James W. Kelly, Jr., East Orange. Pictured (from L) are Dr. Everett B. Simmons, president of the Orange-Maplewood branch, presenting the plaque to Mrs. Bates in the presence of Mayor James W. Kelly, Jr.*

■ The author shows how limitations in the availability of apprenticeship training restricts the Negro's economic opportunities

Apprenticeship a Source of Economic Security*

By Herman D. Bloch

FORMAL apprenticeship training is an important source of job entry and successful completion of this indenture means top occupational status in a craft or trade. Where apprenticeship training is artificially controlled to exclude or to limit the number admitted because they are members of certain ethnic groups, it amounts to denial of craftsman's status. Closure, or token acceptance of minority group members, forces many of these minority group members to seek job entry in low occupational status jobs; these jobs offer low occupational mobility. The combination of low occupational jobs and status brings with it low economic status and little economic security.

It is recognized that there are other ways of learning a trade than via a formal apprenticeship training program and it should be made clear why the latter is emphasized. The three classifications are:

1. *Apprenticeship:* Usually indicates a plan of indenture, involving definite obligations on the part of the apprentice, union and employer. Whether this indenture is an agreement for apprenticeship depends upon its terms. If teaching is the primary object (even if service is to be given) it is an apprenticeship, but if work is the primary object, though teaching is provided, it is an agreement of service.

2. *Learner:* Usually a learner is expected to work for smaller wages and is to be taught a skill, but with no obligations on the part of the employer or employee. Unlike the recognized time limit within which the learner, if he is capable, will advance to the journeyman's status, nor need he become a journeyman at all. Frequently the learner skips from job to job in the hope that he will get higher wages by using his pre-

* A paper prepared for the N.A.L.C. discussion group.

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vious experience to establish a new beginning wage.

3. *Helper:* Usually acts as a general assistant to a skilled craftsman. There is no organized manner in which he is to learn the trade or craft.

Thus it is recognized by authorities in the field of apprenticeship training that this is the best method of becoming a craftsman, since it combines the educational process with the practical experience, a combination most suitable to make a person a qualified journeyman. Dr. J. C. Wright, assistant commissioner for vocational guidance, testifying before the Temporary National Economic Committee of the United States Congress in 1940, stated:

BEST TRAINING

The best training that we can give never takes place *outside of an apprenticeship,* because it is *impossible* to duplicate in the schoolroom the conditions under which an apprentice has to work on the job. The matter of human relations, work with fellow men, spoilage of material, the calling down that he gets from the boss and what not, are conditions that are foreign to the classroom, and we can't give him enough productive work, enough training for speed, to keep up with his fellow men as journeyman.

The importance of the educational process is essential to the future journeyman in order to best utilize the skill and judgment that are required of him. For example, the machinist must first of all have the equivalent of a high school education, a prerequisite for most apprentices seeking job entry in the crafts. In addition, through his training period, he must at least have some knowledge of higher mathematics—he must have some knowledge of trigonometry, in order to be able to make a tool to specifications; he must have some knowledge of the physics and chemistry of various metals as he uses them in various machines—depth of cut the tool can make without damaging the tool or the work in progress; he must know how to read blueprints. This kind of information cannot usually be learned on the job.

We have established the importance of apprenticeship training as a mode of job entry and the relationship between occupational status, economic security and craftsman's status. What we need to establish is that Negroes as members of a minority group have either been totally excluded from formal apprenticeship training programs because of inadequate schooling, or where adequate schooling has been obtained, they are excluded and/or given token representation. Finally, this policy of deliberate discriminatory practice has adversely affected the Negro sector's economic security. Our last comment has been given official sanction by the 1960 report entitled "The Economic Situation of Negroes in the United States," issued by the United States Department of Labor. This report states that "Negro skill rates remain disproportionately low, as a result Negro unemployment rates are disproportionately high." Specifically, in 1959 the unemployment "averages reveal a level of 4.6 per cent for whites, but 11.5 per cent for non-whites." One factor greatly responsible for the high rate of the unemployed amongst the non-white is that "Negro participation in ap-

prenticeship training is still far too low."

Should we think that the high unemployment rate is insufficient to establish low economic security some figures given in the U. S. Department of Labor Report on wage and salary income for white and non-white will dispel this unwarranted belief. "Since earnings vary with occupations, the relative rise in Negroes' occupational levels, as well as their continuing disproportionate concentration in the less skilled jobs, is reflected in their earnings. Whites average higher earnings than Negroes," and in "1958 non-white male workers earned, on the average, 58 per cent as much as whites. The corresponding percentage for non-white female workers was 45 per cent as much as for white females.

Examination in depth, of specfiic trades — building trades — heightens the inequity limned by Secretary Mitchell's general picture. Examination of various crafts in the building trades reveals that those Negro craftsmen dying or retiring are not being replaced by other Negroes. Furthermore, many Negroes are leaving the trade because of the unusual hardships imposed upon them in finding employment. Various studies, between 1900 and 1910, covering New York divulge the fact that these special hardships in finding employment are not a new phenomenon. Both Helen Tucker and Mary White Ovington's statistical studies and case studies illustrate this fact rather conclusively. A more recent investigation of a border area, Washington, D. C., reveals a similar problem. Mr. Brown, a union carpenter in the greater Washington, D. C., area informed me that he had not been sent out on a job by the union during the years 1954-1959. Furthermore, Mr. Brown transferred his membership from a southern state and was the only Negro union member in this local carpenter's union. This Negro carpenter also alleges that this is a method, neglect to keep him employed, to discourage his membership in the union—if he has no work, he cannot pay dues. The latter is a bona-fide ground for expulsion. In addition to the tactics described, this local had no Negro apprentices in any of its programs.

NEGRO LOSING GROUND

The significance of the above examples is that the Negro is losing ground, rather than maintaining his foothold, in the building trades even in the South where, historically, he had been well represented. Secondly, the one avenue of recognized replacement—the apprenticeship training program—is excluding him. In time, the failure to replace existing Negro craftsmen in the building trades will automatically close this source of high occupational status and economic security to him. That unions have considerable control over apprenticeship programs in the building trades, and that they have considerable control over the trade, is well established. Thus in the South, through the segregated locals, and in the North, through token acceptance in some unions, the exceptional obstacles placed in the path of Negro craftsmen's employment possibilities will force many of them to drop the trade before they are eligible for retirement and will further restrict the number entering because of apprenticeship control.

Suppose we treat the problem of decline in the South where the Negro was formerly well represented in the building trades. Although there has been an increase in the total number of mechanics in the southern sector of our economy, the number of Negroes has declined proportionately between 1920 and 1950. Census reports, especially for ten southern states (Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee and Virgina), reveal that the percentage of Negro carpenters enumerated in these states declined from 23.2 per cent in 1920 to 10.0 per cent in 1950. Painters declined from 25.3 per cent in 1920 to 13.8 per cent in 1950. Plasterers, formerly heavily represented by the Negro, diminished from 66.5 per cent in 1920 to 57.9 per cent in 1950. Bricklayers dropped from 54.7 per cent in 1920 to 37.5 per cent in 1950. Since the above is a fair sample of the changing status of the Negro in the building trades in the South, it would be pedantic to enlarge the list. The actual decline in the Negro's economic progress, and since the Negro sector is part of the total economy, it is a reflection on the economic progress of the country as a whole. At a time such as the present, when the country as a whole has been alerted to the question of "economic growth" and the need for skilled workers both to raise our economic standard of living and to increase our preparedness to ward off potential danger, the subject of "Apprenticeship Training" takes on special significance. Despite the excellent studies made by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, both on its own initiative and on contract with other agencies, we still have no adequate inventory of our resources of skilled and technical manpower. (National Manpower Council, "A Policy for Skilled Manpower," Columbia University Press, 1954, p. 131.) This does not mean that we have no basis for an examination of the apprenticeship problem, since we do have some historical evidence upon which to base tentative manpower needs; thus projections can be made, crude as they may be. Furthermore, the immediate question can be resolved by an examination of what is the employment outlook in the various trades, the number needed to carry out the projected building program for the next few years, how many craftsmen are available, how many will be needed, how many will have to be replaced because of retirement, death, etc.

EMPLOYMENT OUTLOOK

Examining the employment outlook in the various building trades, we do know that the total volume of employment, at any particular time, is related to the volume of spending, both private and public. The amount spent by the private sector of the economy is particularly related to the level of employment and its outlook. Should the population continue to increase as it has been doing since World War II, there will be an increased demand for housing in the long run. This demand will, in part, depend upon the prices charged for housing and the level of income individual persons receive. Secondly, the demand for office space will likewise depend upon the phase of the business cycle we are in, and even if the

economy is not in highest gear, commercial building will continue for other reasons bearing on the internal changes in locational needs of businesses. The unique position of the journeyman in the construction industry is well described in the statement that: "It is outstanding as an industry of journeymen." Also, it may be noted that this industry is by far the largest industry employing journeymen.

Two other peculiar characteristics should be noted: 1) prospects for workers of all ages are excellent in the building trades, for there are jobs where young workers are preferred and also jobs where older workers are regarded as fully equal, if not superior. The Building Trades may be referred to as "life time occupations," as a workman can keep his skill and continue to find employment at a greater age than in many other industries. 2) Journeyman's status in the building industry confers a greater degree of independence than that of most other occupations. A journeyman depends on his own competence in the trade and on general economic conditions, rather than on either the fortunes or the good-will of any particular employer, and his opportunity to establish his own business (contractor) is greater than for many in almost any factory occupation.

Of equal importance to the items mentioned above is the fact that "construction occurs everywhere." This means that employment opportunities will be present everywhere, varying from city to city and from trade to trade. The number of workers to be hired at any one time will necessarily be greatest where the greatest amount of construction is going on—for the most part, the large cities, and in those parts of the country active in industrial development and having population growth. Even the oldest sections of our large cities offer great promise of employment — redevelopment programs sponsored by both the federal, state and municipal governments. Again there will be need to replace those leaving the labor force voluntarily and for other reasons. When we add up the plus items mentioned above, it clearly reveals that in the construction trades apprenticeship leading to craftsmen's status lends itself to occupational status and high economic security long after many other workers in the factory have had to be dependent upon a union for job maintenance.

The National Builders Conference, in 1948, cited the findings of a Joint Congressional Committee on Housing (1947) that in its study of 32 cities, the development of a national housing program was dependent upon three principal elements: men, money, and materials, and that existing manpower shortage was peculiar to the skilled group. Furthermore, this committee noted that in one city alone, for every new worker entering, the trade was losing nine old workers. The conclusion arrived at was that while numbers varied from city to city and from trade to trade, there was no question but that losses from the ranks of skilled labor was greater than the current rate of employment (replacement). Thus, based on the above study and others of more recent vintage there should be thousands of opportunities for boys interested in the building trades, Ne-

groes as well as whites. There is evidence to show that the Negro is discriminated against in formally registered apprenticeship programs in New York State. The data reveal "that Negroes participate very little, if at all, in apprenticeship programs in upstate New York nor are they indentured in the metal crafts or printing trades in New York City. . . . The lack of apprentices is particularly pronounced in those trades —plumbing, ornamental and structural iron working, sheet metal working, tool and die making, steamfitting, transportation and the graphic arts trades—from which they have been traditionally excluded." (p. 110 SCAD—Apprenticeship.)

FORMS OF EXCLUSION

Exclusion has taken two forms, union exclusion from jointly operated apprenticeship programs because of Caucasian clauses in their constitutions, but more pronounced has been the use of tacit consent or the ritual. The latter device performs as effectively as the Caucasian clause without the blatant announcement to the public of discriminatory practices. The second form has been employer reluctance to hire Negroes for jobs which will lead to apprenticeship training or, in collusion with unions, to continue local practices. A relatively new device has come into prominence — "tokenism." We mean by this term that unions and/or employers will accept a few Negroes into the program to stave off allegations that they are practicing discrimination in employment. However, closer examination of these employers and union programs reveal that this is window dressing rather than a sincere attempt to integrate the Negro into our work force.

It is conceded that in some areas of the country any attempt to change patterns of employment means a re-education of the entire community as well as requiring a change in union practices.

On the whole, Negroes have found their opportunity greatest in such trades as plastering and bricklaying and least in such mechanical trades as electrical work, plumbing, pipefitting, etc. In such instances, where the Negro has been able to acquire the skill necessary to function as a craftsman in a trade, union exclusion from membership represents a major handicap, since a goodly portion of new construction is controlled by unions. It is particularly severe for the indigenous Negro applicant to find acceptance in a formal apprenticeship training program; in spite of these handicaps, a limited number do enter the building trades through informal on-the-job training —helpers to journeymen, non-union jobs, etc. We stress the indigenous Negro since many journeymen come from the Caribbean area and have learned their trades at home but seek higher economic status and security in this country. The indigenous Negro who learns his trade as a helper is mainly confined to the South where the mechanical trades involving pipefitters, plumbers, etc., are usually employed to do the full job installation under supervision of white foremen. The accepted method of receiving proper training is still through a registered apprenticeship program.

In summary, we know that apprenticeship training is a means of job entry into a craft. It is a job at which

a worker learns while producing and earns an established proportionate wage of the journeyman. This worker has the definite objective of becoming a craftsman in his chosen field after two to six years as an apprentice. The novice goes through a period of on-the-job-training, usually some 4,000 hours or more, during which time he is made familiar with the materials, tools, skills and the principles of the trade. When the apprenticeship has been successfully completed, he enters the ranks of journeyman. The apprenticeship agreement usually includes in writing all the terms both parties have to fulfill. The agreement is registered with the State Council of Apprenticeship, a type of insurance to both the worker and the employer. Advanced apprenticeship standing may be given for skill acquired in the armed services or in a vocational school.

Vocational training must be distinguished from apprentice-training. One essential difference is that on-the-job training involves some 40 hours per week of practical work on the job. Whereas in vocational schooling the student spends only some 15 hours a week on practical shop work which is less than half the time an apprentice spends each week on the job. The results are that while the vocational school graduate may be granted advanced standing in an apprenticeship program, he is by no means a qualified journeyman. Furthermore, it is the consensus of opinion that only if the vocational school student supplements his training with on-the-job training can he hope to become a qualified journeyman.

PROBLEM OF REPLACEMENTS

Although we have established in a general way the fact that the outlook for employment in the building trades is good, there are at least two other items which should be mentioned. One is whether a sufficient number of replacements are being trained to replace those retiring from the work force and those dying plus the number that will be needed because of economic growth. The second item is whether the Negro is qualified to be represented in an apprenticeship program to maintain our force of skilled workers.

Studies made by congressional committees and other government agencies indicate that replacement is not taking place commensurate with needs to maintain our supply of skilled help. Thus there are opportunities for American youth in this area of employment.

Two types of statistics are necessary to answer our second question: availability of Negro youth with the required minimum educational background. Obliquely, we can answer this question by pointing up the fact that Negro youth in the 18-19 age group suffered 27.2 per cent unemployment and the 20-24 age group had some 16.3 per cent unemployed. This points to the availability in terms of numbers of this age group usually acceptable for apprenticeship programs. Numbers without educational qualifications will not prove our case so we will examine youths in school, for say 1956, between the ages of 14-17. These youth had some 81.2 per cent in school so that by 1959 this entire age group would be available for apprenticeship programs, the 14-year-olds would be 17

and the 17-year-group would be 20, both fall within the limits of apprenticable ages 18-24. All indications reveal that Negro youth was by-passed in favor of whites. Thus the Negro finds his economic chances rather curtailed in the building trades.

HONOR GUARD SORORS—*Zeta Nu Omega chapter of Alpha Kappa Alpha sorority, Westchester county, New York, has joined the honor guard of $500 NAACP life members. Pictured (from L) are Mrs. Lloyd H. King, Mrs. Vester Fowlkes, president; Mildren Bond, NAACP life membership secretary; and Mrs. George Shelton.*

Cecil Layne

Johnson Studio

NEW LIFE MEMBER—*Mrs. Robert L. Vann (R), treasurer Pittsburgh Courier Publishing Co., and members of the life-membership committee of the Pittsburgh, Pa., branch present a life membership plaque to Mrs. Rendella Lucas, president of the National Association of Ministers Wives, Inc.*

C. Smith

NATIONAL PORO ASSOCIATION *makes a payment on its NAACP life membership through its president, Mrs. Ernestine Mahan (L), to Mrs. Callie Parrish of the Cincinnati, Ohio, branch. Mrs. Parrish has soliicted four senior, and one junior, life memberships.*

■ How Negroes helped win the freedoms that are now being denied them in New Orleans

Negroes in the Battle of New Orleans—1815

By Clarence A. Laws

IN the January, 1961, issue of *The Crisis,* there appears an article by this writer concerning the public school integration controversy in Louisiana. The article, entitled "The Second Battle of New Orleans," discusses the Crescent City school crisis. This piece naturally brings to mind the original battle of New Orleans which occurred in that city on January 15, 1815. Likewise, it is natural to compare the aims and methods of the two conflicts and the roles which Negroes played in each.

In the current conflict the forces of racial bigotry are striving to deny Negro children their constitutional rights and to keep Negroes, as a race, in the status of second-class citizenship. On the other hand, the first battle of New Orleans, which was the decisive ground battle in the War of 1812, was designed to stop the seizure of American seamen and interference with America's sea commerce by the British. In that battle, as in the Revolutionary War, Negroes acquitted themselves gallantly.

Although Negroes had distinguished themselves in the Navy, fighting alongside such all-time Naval heroes as Commodores Isaac Chauncey and Oliver Perry, they were not accepted into the Army during the first two years of battle in the War of 1812. However, the failure of whites to enlist in sufficient numbers and repeated losses by American ground forces, coupled with the threat of an attack upon New Orleans by the British, forced General Andrew Jackson to seek and to enlist all possible aid. Accordingly, as the commander of the Seventh Military District, stationed at Mobile, Alabama, he issued the following proclamation on September 21, 1814:

> Through a mistaken policy, you have heretofore been deprived of a participation in the glorious struggle for national rights in which our country is engaged. This no longer shall exist.
>
> As sons of freedom, you are now

CLARENCE A. LAWS *is field secretary of the NAACP.*

called upon to defend our most inestimable blessing. As Americans, your country looks with confidence to her adopted sons for a valorous support, as a faithful return for the advantages enjoyed under her mild and equitable government. As fathers, husbands, and brothers, you are summoned to rally around the standard of the Eagle, to defend all which is dear in existence.

To assure you of the sincerity of my intentions, and my anxiety to engage your invaluable services to our country, I have communicated with the Governor of Louisiana with reference to my wishes, he is fully informed as to the manner of enrollment, and will give you every necessary information on the subject of this address.

General Jackson promised further, to treat the Negro soldiers with dignity, to utilize Negro non-commissioned officers, and to remunerate them on the same basis as white soldiers.

Inspired by the hope of attaining full citizenship, Negroes rallied to the call. In a short time some 431 were organized into two battalions, equipped, trained and ready for battle. At a review in New Orleans on December 18, 1814, Jackson, first addressing himself to his entire command, then to Negroes, specifically, said,

To THE MEN OF COLOR—Soldiers! From the shores of Mobile I collected you to arms—I invited you to share in the perils and to divide the glory of your white countrymen. I expected much from you; for I was not uninformed of those qualities which must render you so formidable to an invading foe. I knew you could endure hunger and thirst, and all the hardships of war. I knew that you loved the land of your nativity, and that, like ourselves, you had to defend all that is most dear to man. But you surpass my hopes. I have found in you, united in those qualities, that noble enthusiasm which impels to great deeds.

Thus, shoulder to shoulder with white troops, Negroes were highly praised by their commanding general. Already the British army, under the command of General Pakenham, had landed on the coast near the mouth of the Mississippi. Jackson went out to meet the enemy. Following a brief period of minor skirmishes, the decisive battle was fought on January 8, 1815. In a short space of twenty-five minutes 700 of the British were killed; 1,400 were wounded; and 400 were taken prisoner. The American soldiers were so well protected behind their breastwork that only four were killed and thirteen were wounded.

NEGRO BATTALIONS

In that great battle, which is now referred to as "the Battle of New Orleans," two battalions of Negro soldiers participated. And, according to historians, they held no mean position on the field of battle. An authenticated chart showing the deployment of various units on that memorable day placed the Negro troops near General Jackson and his staff.

In his report of the battle to the President of the United States, Jackson was generous in his praise of his Negro troops, and made the following speculation concerning the death of the British Commander: "I saw General Pakenham reel and pitch out of his saddle. I have always believed that he fell from the bullet of a free man of color, who was a famous rifle shot and came from the At-

takapas region of Louisiana."

In spite of their meritorous deeds Negro soldiers were soon forgotten after the dangers of invasion had passed. It was in 1851—thirty-six years after the Battle of New Orleans—that Negroes first participated in a parade marking that event. Commenting upon the fact that Negroes had played a conspicuous part in this battle, that they had been praised by General Jackson and yet had been ignored for thirty-six years, *The Daily Picayune* of New Orleans on January 16, 1851, asked the following timely and provocative questions:

"Yet, who more than they [Negroes] deserve the thanks of the country, and the gratitude of succeeding generations? Who rallied with more alacrity in response to the summons of danger? Who endured more cheerfully the hardships of the camp or faced with greater courage the perils of the fight?"

And the *Picayune* concluded, editorially: If, in that hazardous hour, when our homes were menaced with the horrors of war, we did not disdain to call upon the colored population to assist in repelling the invading horde, we should not, when the danger is passed, refuse to permit them to unite with us in celebrating the glorious event, which they helped to make so memorable an epoch in our history. We were not too exalted to mingle with them in affray; they were not too humble to join in our rejoicing.

And what the *Picayune* had had the courage to say 110 years ago, but seems to lack the courage to say today, Negroes and men of good will everywhere are now saying: "If Negroes have been good enough down through the centuries to fight and die to safeguard American Freedoms they are good enough to share today in the full enjoyment of those freedoms with others."

That is all Negroes are asking in New Orleans and elsewhere over the Southland and the Nation.

SLIGHT ADVANTAGE

Little cares he if the hoot owl cries,
And tossing trees fill the night with sighs.
Little cares he if the rain comes through
Shattered windows the way ghosts do.
Little cares he if the fire goes out,
Leaving him with dusk all about.
Little can such things give man a fright,
Who was born out of the darkness,
Blacker than night.

—Tom Conroy

■ An exposé of Portuguese colonialism as practised in Africa

Portuguese Colonialism—Myths and Realities

By Mário de Andrade

OURS is the century of colonial revolt. Two of the former colonial taskmasters, England and France, have adjusted themselves to the change. Only little Portugal, one of the smallest and most backward of European countries, refuses to accept the principle of self-determination for her colonial subjects. Instead, impoverished Portugal is desperately trying to hang on to her African loot. Adriano Moreira, director of the Colonial School at Lisbon, in commenting upon Africa's future, says that his country must adhere "to traditional Portuguese policies in order to maintain a zone of peace in the midst of the general revolt." [1]

French, Swiss, and American journalists have, however, been witnesses to a different "zone of peace" from that to which Senhor Moreira makes allusion. They all recognize, in varying degrees—Pierre and Renée Gousset,[2] Charles-Henri Favrod,[3] and John Gunther[4]—that the Portuguese territories in Black Africa are about a century behind the times, economically, politically, and culturally. Yet these visiting foreigners insist that there is no racial discrimination in Portuguese Africa, because they are usually quite innocent of the nature of Portuguese colonialism.

John Gunther saw no "For Europeans Only" signs in Portuguese Africa. Therefore he jumped to the

---

MÁRIO DE ANDRADE, who was born in Golungo, Angola, on August 21, 1928, was educated in Lisbon and Paris. He is a sociologist, poet, and anthologist. He is widely known for his writings, both in Portuguese and French, in the leading journals of Angola, Portugal, Brazil, and France. He was co-editor, with Francisco José Tenreiro, of *Notebook of Negro Poetry in the Portuguese Language* (Lisbon, 1953) and editor of *Anthology of Negro Poetry in the Portuguese Language* (Paris, 1958). He was one of the organizers of the First Congress of Negro Writers and Artists held in Paris in 1956. Since the arrest of Dr. Agostinho Neto by the Portuguese, he has become the main leader of the Popular Movement for Angolese Liberation (MPLA).

conclusion: "The most salient and striking characteristic of Portuguese Africa is that it has no official color bar." Charles Henri Favrod makes this comment: "Properly speaking, there is no such thing as Portuguese racism." And this is by Oden Meeker: "This lack of a racist spirit and this extraordinary faculty of adaptation is met with to a more or less high degree in Portuguese territories."[5]

"Yet these impressions of interracial harmony," to quote Dr. Marvin Harris, "are hopelessly unfounded." And I shall, during the course of this article, expose the myths of Portuguese colonialism by contrasting them with the harsh realities.

COLONIAL THEORY

Let me point out the salient features of Portuguese colonial theory. The Portuguese view is that Africans are savages and that they must, therefore, be treated like children. Give them enough rudimentary education to make them useful to the white man, discipline them for their own good just as you would sulky children, and, above all, demand that they fulfill "the obligation to labor." "The belief that the African must be obliged to work," explains Professor James Duffy,[6] "is a part of Portugal's vision of herself as a civilizing force in a primitive world inhabited by lazy children." Unlike other European colonial powers, however, the Portuguese have never exhibited interest in the culture of their African subjects, since it is Portuguese assumption that everything Lusitanian is better than everything African.

The juridical view is that Portugal has no colonies, but only overseas territories. Therefore Portugal does not recognize the legitimacy of nationalist aspirations among the natives, nor any authority on the part of the United Nations to inquire into the administration of these territories. Dictator and Prime Minister Antônio de Oliveria Salazar says: "So far as we are concerned, our goal is a unitary state made up of dispersed provinces and different races. . . . We believe there are decadent or backward races to whom it is our sacred duty to bring Christian civilization. . . ."

Portuguese Africa consists of Angola, Mozambique, Portuguese Guinea, and the islands of São Tomé, Principe and Cape Verde. These territories have an area of 794,959 square miles and a total population of 10,804,000, with about 500,000 Europeans or people of part European descent. Although Angola has large deposits of iron, malachite, manganese, and copper, its chief products are agricultural, as it is with the other colonies.

But despite the natural riches of the colonies, the Africans live on a sub-human standard and are treated as little more than serfs in their own country. Forced labor, export of African workers to the mines in South Africa, compulsory crops or legally imposed monoculture (in 1953 about a half million Africans in Angola and Mozambique were forced to grow cotton on some 645,000 acres), and sub-standard wages are the principal methods used by the Portuguese to keep Africans in virtual slavery.

The basis for forced labor is to be found in the decree of November 9, 1899, which says, in part: "All

the natives of the Portuguese overseas provinces are subject to the moral and legal obligation to seek through work the means which they lack for subsisting and bettering their social condition."[7] A few years ago the Archbishop of Luanda complained, in a confidential memorandum, to the Governor of Angola that forced labor made it difficult for him to convert the Angolese masses. The Archbishop went so far as to accuse the administrative authorities of *selling* African workers at prices varying from $3,000 to $5,500. The Governor's defense was that the administration did not *sell* Africans—it *rented* them out. This trade in forced labor provides Portugal with one of her most stable sources of foreign currency.

SLAVE-TRADING TRADITION

The tradition of slave-trading developed in the Portuguese the attitude that the African is naturally a slave to be "redeemed from the sin of idleness." And existing law makes it possible for the authorities to conscript Africans for public works if they refuse to "voluntarily" sign up with private employers. Work in the "general public interest" is not, they say, forced labor. The African has no right to be idle and it is the African who must prove that he is not "idle." It is the duty of every African to work at least six months in the year and every worker has a passbook in which his jobs are entered. Even African women who work in urban centers must have their passbooks with them at all times. Henrique Galvão, a one-time colonial administrator who was in the news recently because of his seizure of the Portuguese steamer *Santa Maria*, once stated: "Only the dead escape forced labor. . . . The present situation is worse than that created by pure slavery." Much of the forced labor is supplied by children and adolescents.

Needless to say, the authorities find forced labor a very profitable business and it has been estimated that they net as much as $60 annually on each worker. Thousands of these laborers from Mozambique, Angola, and Cape Verde work on the settlers' farms in São Tomé; other thousands labor on public works in Guinea, Mozambique, and Angola; every year 250,000 Angolese are rented out to agricultural, mining, and construction concerns; and 450,000 of them are exported annually to the mines of South Africa and the Rhodesias. Of the *assimilados* (and more about them below), most of them are secondclass workers who are paid less than Europeans for doing the same work. With the increase in European immigration, we find Portuguese filling such minor jobs as waiting on tables, selling lottery tickets, or driving taxis. Needless to say, Africans are barred from these jobs.

Forced labor is infamous. It has destroyed the economic life of the African, disintegrated millions of African families, forced thousands of women into prostitution, spread venereal diseases, lowered the birthrate and increased the rate of infant mortality.

Today, the Portuguese colonial policy makers are encouraging a steady white immigration into Angola and Mozambique especially. "We

must have a rapid peopling of these provinces by Portuguese from Portugal," one reads in the government reports, because these are ideal territories for white settlers.[8] Hence the most fertile areas, from which Africans have been systematically removed, are being reserved for European settlers. More than half the cultivated land in Mozambique, for example, is reserved for a small European minority. More than four-fifths of the coffee plantations in Angola belong to white settlers who now exploit them with forced African labor. More than 15,000 African families in the *colonato* of Cela, Angola, for example, have been driven off their lands to make room for farmers from Portugal.

There are three important colonizing projects: two are in Angola, one at Cela and the other in the river valley of the Cunene; the other is in Mozambique in the river valley of the Limpopo. Portugal intends, it seems, to turn Angola and Mozambique into so many South Africas

THIS MAN IS FROM PORTUGAL: There is order and peace in my colony. From AUFBAU (New York City, February 10, 1961).

in order to help her the better to exploit their resources and African labor. This increasing white-settler population, as usually happens in Africa, is giving rise to racialism and creating sharply segregated patterns of life in both Angola and Mozambique.

The following table shows the increase in the white population of Angola between 1900 and 1955:

Year	*Whites*	*Mulattoes*	*Blacks*
1900	9,000	7,000	2,700,000
1910	12,000	9,500	2,900,000
1920	20,700	10,500	3,100,000
1930	30,000	13,500	3,300,000
1940	44,083	28,035	3,665,829
1950	78,826	29,648	4,036,687
1955	199,568	30,453	4,122,117

The reader will notice that the white population increased by 30,742 individuals or 29 per cent during the five-year period 1950-55, whereas the blacks increased by only 85,430 or 10 per cent during the same period. The white population increased tenfold between 1900 and 1955, yet the black population did not even double itself during the same period.

ANGOLESE EDUCATION

In education, the African lags far behind the whites. In Angola, Guinea, and Mozambique the population is 98 percent illiterate and areas larger than Portugal are totally without schools. An agreement between Portugal and the Vatican gives Catholic missions a monopoly of education for the *indígenas* or so-called "uncivilized" Africans and these "rudimentary" schools do not extend their schooling beyond the third year. The secondary schools are almost exclusively white; there are no universities in the colonies; and only about 100 hundred Africans are enrolled in the universities of Portugal out of a total population of some ten million.

It is against the law to employ African languages in the "rudimentary" schools, except for religious instruction, and what the African is taught disparages both him and his culture. The white man is always presented as a superior being and the African as an inferior. Although the sons of *assimilados* may attend official elementary and secondary schools, and the universities, few do so because of the poverty of their families.

What is an *assimilado?* He is the "civilized" African, the African assimilated to Portuguese culture, in contrast to the non-assimilated or "uncivilized" African. Since Portuguese doctrinal assumption, as I have pointed out, is that African cultures are worthless, it therefore follows that an ambitious man who wishes to become "civilized" becomes Portuguese. Although the *assimilado* (usually mulatto) is spared most of the indignities of the "uncivilized", his treatment differs in no essential degree from that meted out to the "uncivilized" African. If he remains in Africa he is a *tertium quid* spurned by both Africans and Portuguese. He is much better off in metropolitan Portugal. There he will encounter no discrimination and will be accepted as any other Portuguese. The purpose of selective assimilation, of course, is to deprive the African masses of a politically and culturally conscious elite—of leaders. Many *assimilados* are little more than po-

litical puppets of their masters; and Africans consider men like James Pinto Bull, a high official in the Overseas Ministry in Lisbon; and the governor of Cuanza Sul (Malange), Angola, Dr. Julio Monteiro, as traitors.

Professor James Duffy of Brandeis University is right when he describes the Portuguese policy of assimilation as "little more than a set of ridiculous statistics." The efficacy of assimilation is to be judged by its results. What success have the Portuguese had with this policy? Let us turn to the population figures for Angola and Mozambique as of 1958: Angola had a total population of 4,392,000, of which 120,000 were Europeans. But only 30,089 of this total consisted of *assimilados*. The total population in Mozambique was 6,234,000, with 4,353 *assimilados*. Assimilation as a condition of equality is a fraud because it is impossible and because the Portuguese make the admission requirements so rigid that only a few can qualify. In order to become an *assimilado* an African must be over eighteen, must speak fluent Portuguese, must have completed his military service, must be able to maintain himself and his dependents, must be law-abiding, must have some realization of the obligations of citizenship, must have paid all his taxes, and must live in the "European manner." If the people in metropolitan Portugal were asked to fulfill these conditions for becoming "civilized" or *assimilados*, more than half would "flunk."

MYTH OF MULTI-RACIALISM

Portuguese "multi-racialism" is actually a myth, and so is Gilberto Freyre's "luso-tropicalism," which I shall discuss below. [See the author's "What is Luso-Tropicalism?" written under the pseudonym of Buanga Fele, *Présence Africaine*, October-November, 1955, pp. 24-35. *Trans.*] There is complete racial segregation except for contact through work, and there is no social contact after work between African and European families. Movies, bars, cafes, restaurants, etc., are frequented almost exclusively by Europeans. Any African bold enough to enter one of these places must be prepared to suffer humiliation. Racial segregation is openly practiced in such towns as Lourenço Marques and Beira in Mozambique, as well as in Nova Lisbôa and Lobito in Angola. Freyre[9] admits the existence of this jim-crowism and then rationalizes it with the explanation that it is due to the proximity of racist South Africa and the Rhodesias. Then he admonishes: "A Portugal that is pretentious and imperially European, ethnocentric, 'Aryan,' is a Portugal which has as little future in Africa as Holland has in Asia."

I should like here to refute another myth which has grown up about the supposed "humane aspects" of Portuguese colonization. Gilberto Freyre, the brilliant Brazilian social historian, is its chief propounder and defender. Here is the way Freyre puts it:

> 'Luso-tropical civilization' is an expression I have suggested to characterize what seems to me a particular form of behavior and a particular form of accomplishment of the Portuguese in the world: his tendency to prefer the tropics for his extra-European expansion and his ability to remain success-

fully in the tropics—successfully from a cultural as well as from an ecological point of view—an intermediary between European culture and such tropical cultures as the one found by him in Africa, India, Malaya, and the part of America that became Brazil.[10]

He also claims that the Portuguese are "the most Christian of modern colonizers in their relations with people considered inferior." [11] Then there is his ancillary thesis:

In addition to being European, the Portuguese are likewise an Arabicized, orientalized people who are prone in their amorous adventures to worship at the shrine of the 'Dusky Venus.' [12]

"Race mixture," he insists, "took place for sentimental as well as purely physical reasons." [13] The Portuguese colonizer in Brazil was certainly racially tolerant; not, however,

NON-RACIAL REVOLT?

SUCCESSFUL or not, Captain Henrique Galvao's revolt by passenger liner promises some hope of change for Portugal and her unfortunate colonies. For years the Portuguese people have endured the ruthless efficiency of the Salazar regime; and this has extended, with ever greater disregard for human liberty, to the two large African territories of Angola and Mozambique.

Here, as in Portugal, opposition to the Government has been suppressed by the P.I.D.E. or secret police. This organization has few of the refinements of its counterparts in communist countries; those guilty of the "error" of opposing "kindly" Dr. Salazar are simply shot, tortured or imprisoned for long periods.

Politics, in Dr. Salazar's views, "are not for the people": when he consented to an election his minions assured a successful result by stopping opponents' meetings, locking up their supporters and finally by holding up the delivery of ballot boxes from such opposition strongholds as Luanda in Angola. When Africans in Northern Mozambique rose against the administration in that area they were shot down on Sharpeville scale.

Under such rule real opposition seemed unlikely until Galvao, acting for exiled General Delgado in Brazil, seized the luxury passenger liner *Santa Maria*. It is a long way from taking over a ship to removing a regime entrenched since the early 1930s. But the Galvao coup should inspire others in Portugal and in her African territories where a non-racial rising of White and non-White citizens may prepare the way for two new non-racial democratic states in the new Africa.

Contact (Capetown, South Africa, February, 1961)

because of any moral superiority, but because of the paucity of white women and his tolerance toward Indian (the *cunhãs* were the only women around) and, later, African women. When the Portuguese colonizer first arrives in Africa he often participates in native life and frequently marries an African woman. But the moment his social position improves he separates himself from the African community. Furthermore, the small number of mixed-bloods in the African colonies invalidates the "distinctive pluriethnic vocation of the Portuguese." Professor Duffy says: "Miscegenation in Portuguese Africa, however, although admirably free from the sense of shame which accompanied it in English colonies, still must be considered primarily as erotic expediency; it has become colonial policy only in retrospect." [14]

WIDESPREAD MISERY

Whereas the "Portuguese taste for melanism" gives solace to a few mixed-bloods, as colonial policy and a process for giving equality to colonial peoples, it is pure fiction slightly tempered with fact. Nor does the policy of "assimilation" give Portugal's African subjects an appetite for Lusitanian culture. The Africans say: "Assimilation is unacceptable not only in theory but even more in practice. It is based on the racist idea of the 'incompetence or lack of dignity' of African people, and implies that African cultures and civilizations have no value."

There are many other depressing aspects of Portuguese colonialism which cannot be discussed here in detail. There is the widespread economic misery, inadequate medical care, the lack of hospitals, deportations of "undesirables," curfews, censorship, use of secret police and spies, and beatings with the *palmatório,* a ferule perforated with holes, which sucks up the flesh and raises painful wales. In rural areas the Africans must even remove their hats and salute the whites they encounter.

The Portuguese have so far defied the spirit of the age. They have made no concessions to the freedom movements which are now sweeping Africa. But Portuguese "intelligence" is not lively enough to resist the seductions of a Kwame Nkrumah or a Sékou Touré. The colonial pot is boiling beneath the surface tranquility and some of the recent outbreaks have been reported in the European and American press.

African organizations have been formed abroad to work for the independence of the colonies: Popular Movement for Angolese Liberation (MPLA), African Party for Guinease Independence (PAIG), Movement for National Independence of Angola (MPINA), Anti-Colonialist Movement (MAC), and the Union of the Peoples of Angola (UPA). The first four have now combined to form the African Revolutionary Front for the National Independence of the Portuguese Colonies (FRAIN). FRAIN has the active support of most Portuguese Africans living aboard, of whom there are more than a million.

PAIGC (the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde) recently addressed a memorandum to the local Portuguese governor calling attention to the massacre at *Cais de Pijiguiti* on August

3, 1959, when dozens of local striking workers were killed, the thousands of deaths in Cape Verde from famine between 1942 and 1947, the activities of the secret police (PIDE), etc. College students from Portugal's colonies in Africa also made these observations on charges against Portugal's colonial policies presented to the United Nations:

The existence of forced labor in Guinea, São Tomé, Angola (especially in Porto Alexandre, Baía Tigres, and Foz do Cunene), and Mozambique (especially in Foz do Limpopo);

Exportation of African workers from Angola and Mozambique to the mines of South Africa;

Periodic famines as a result of the inefficiency and callousness of government officials;

Concentration of military and other repressive forces in our countries;

Massacre of 900 Africans in São Tomé by Portuguese civilians in 1953; and

The lack of grade schools, high schools, and colleges in our countries.

Portuguese African groups fighting for the freedom of their countries are growing in size and importance. They publish pamphlets, issue mimeographed statements, and have the ear of representatives in the United Nations. And they have the support of free African governments and anti-colonial interests in many parts of the world.

Portugal's colonial policies are now being exposed for what they are: a disgrace to humanity.

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(Adapted from the French by James W. Ivy)

U. S. VOTES WITH AFRICANS IN ASKING ANGOLA INQUIRY

The United States joined Asian and African states and the Soviet Union today [March 15] in calling for reforms in Angola where racial disorders occurred last month. The policy statement by Adlai E. Stevenson, chief United States delegate in the Security Council, marked a departure by the Kennedy Administration from the Eisenhower Administration's policies in debates on colonialism.

The New York Times, March 16, 1961

Cecil Layne

RESOURCE DIVISION, *New York Department of Welfare, enrolls as a life member in the NAACP. Naomi Rolfe, director of the Resource Division, presents $150 check to Dr. John Morsell, assistant to Mr. Wilkins, as an initial payment. The presentation was made at the 1961 campaign-kick-off meeting of the NYDW at which Dr. Morsell was the guest speaker.*

Cecil Layne

EAST END WELFARE CENTER, *New York, joins the NAACP Honor Guard of fully-paid life members. Max Waldgeir, administrative supervisor of the center, receives the EECW's life membership plaque from Mildred Bond, NAACP life membership secretary. A twenty-five member committee of EEWC employees, chairmaned by Mrs. Paulina Borden, Josephine Cole and Virginia Nurse, was responsible for raising the $500 for the life membership.*

Sheffield's Studio

BISHOP JOSEPH GOMEZ, *Cleveland, Ohio, accepts his NAACP life membership plaque from Dr. Jesse Leach, Flint, Michigan, a member of the NAACP national board and the national life membership committee. Five other AME bishops besides Bishop Gomez are NAACP life members: Bishops George Baber, Isaiah Bonner, Sherman Greene, Eugene Hatcher, and D. Ward Nichols.*

Cecil Layne

TAKING PART—*Rebecca Chapter #23, Order of Eastern Star, has enrolled as an NAACP life member. Pictured from left are Frank Andrews, Mrs. Viola Andrews, Mrs. Zeda Pruitt, Mildred Bond, NAACP life membership secretary; Mrs. Virginia Foster, past worthy matron; and Charles Bowser and Charles Smith.*

Edward Jones

CHURCH SECRETARY *Carlyle Crumwell (2nd from L) of the Collins Memorial AME Church, Lansing, Michigan, makes first payment on his church's NAACP life membership to Stuart J. Dunnings, Jr., of the Lansing branch life-membership committee. Church pastor Joseph Parker stands at left; the woman is branch president Mrs. Josephine Wharton.*

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Editorials

PORTUGUESE COLONIALISM

LITTLE Portugal has managed for many years to deceive the general public about the real nature of her colonial system. She has been helped in this deception by general ignorance of her administration of Angola and Mozambique, and her other colonies, and by the relatively more refined nature of Lusitanian racism as contrasted with the callous crudity of South African *apartheid* or our own Deep-South jim crowism and segregation. But now the times have caught up with her. She can no longer isolate herself from the civilized world, nor offer convincing arguments that she has no colonies but only "overseas provinces." Colonialism is an international issue and even the United States, it seems, judging by Mr. Adlai E. Stevenson's speech in the Security Council on the Angola issue (coupled with the USA's vote with African countries on the Angola inquiry) is becoming aware of this.

"It is only prudent," said Mr. Stevenson, "to view the disorder in Luanda [Angola] in the context of dramatic changes which have taken place in so much of Africa in the past few years. Angola is but a part of the over-all picture of evolution on the African continent."

The article by Senhor Andrade in this issue (p. 210), is a searching examination of the myths versus the realities in Portuguese Africa. What Senhor Andrade has to say about forced labor, forced farming, the deportation of Angolese laborers, lack of education, physical punishments, and the fraud of the *assimilado* system merit careful attention. He brings the matter squarely before us: the fruits of Portuguese colonialism in Africa are human degradation and slavery.

CIVIL WAR CENTENNIAL

PURPOSE of the Civil War Centennial is to propagandize the Southern point of view both on the Civil War and the second-class citizenship of Negroes. Southern historians and their sympathizers have already convinced millions of Americans that the Civil War was fought over every issue except the great moral issue of Negro chattel slavery. And the proposed segregation of Mrs. Madaline Williams, a delegate from the New Jersey centennial commission, at the centennial observance in Charleston, South Carolina, April 11-12, fits into the overall picture of the real Southern purpose of the centennial. When New Jersey learned that Mrs. Williams would not be accommodated in Charleston with the other New Jersey members, nor at the luncheon and official dinner, New Jersey officials cancelled all plans to go to Charleston. This was the only decent thing to do.

Executive Secretary Roy Wilkins has already warned NAACP branches that the outpouring of "pro-South" propaganda during the Civil War Centennial celebrations could "strike a hard blow at our present day movement

toward equality."

Mr. Wilkins set forth the following suggestions to branches and state conferences:

—Find out if your state has designated a Civil War Centennial Commission.

—If it has, find out who are its members, and who is chairman and where he can be reached.

—Wire the chairman immediately that the NAACP in your state regards the Charleston, South Carolina, assembly April 11-12 as a betrayal of everything the Civil War was fought for. Urge them to decline to participate and to work against any Federal participation.

—Draft statements for release to the press, radio and television expressing your resentment at efforts to commemorate the Civil War with meaningless pageants and spectacles which overlook the real meaning of the War. Make it clear that the Civil War was fought to preserve a union "conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal."

The National Civil War Centennial Commission was set up by a 1957 act of Congress (Public Law 305); however, many states have set up their own commissions with representatives on the national body.

The Commission even rebuffed President Kennedy's desegregation plea and paid no attention to a similar plea from Senator Clifford P. Case (R.-N. J.) Apparently the Commission does not believe that the white democracy of South Carolina is ready to surrender its first principle of "white supremacy" even at the behest of the President of the United States.

U.S.A. NEGRO POPULATION

FEW Americans, and not even the Negroes themselves, are aware of the enormous potential which our group has for implementing the American dream of democracy and equality. According to the 1960 census figures the United States has a total Negro population of 18,871,381. That is, there are twice as many Negroes in the United States as there are people in Belgium (9,104,000), six times as many as the population of Bolivia (3,316,000), eight times the population of Israel (2,105,530); American Negroes exceed in numbers the population of Canada (16,080,791), Australia (10,166,173), Austria (7,049,000), Finland (4,433,700), and Ghana (6,690,730), to name a few countries.

Negroes are also in a position to profoundly influence the political and economic growth of our large urban areas. Washington, D. C., for example has more Negroes than whites, 53.9 per cent of the total population. There are also other cities with a high percentage of Negroes: Atlanta, Georgia, 38.3; New Orleans, Louisiana, 37.2; Memphis, Tennessee, 37.0; Detroit, Michigan, 28.9; and St. Louis, Missouri, 28.6.

Just imagine what this group can do if it plans ahead, if it makes full utilization of its economic, educational and political power.

Looking and Listening . . .

"THE ZULUS"

RESPECTABLE New Orleans Negro citizens have long protested against the clownish Mardi-Gras antics of the Zulus, a local social club. Under the title, "Zulu Turns Back on Negro Community," *The Louisiana Weekly* (February 11, 1961) explains editorially why the Zulus paraded despite the protests of the Negro community. The editor's ready typewriter made this comment:

The controversial Zulu Aid and Pleasure Club has decided, despite pressure from 99% of the Negro community, to parade as usual for the 'good white folks.'

Last week 'the Zulus' were on the verge of calling the farcical, disgraceful spectacle off when New Orleans esteemed and internationally known Mayor Morrison injected himself into the matter. The Zulus were invited to his office, told a few jokes and reassured that money for the parade was forthcoming, allegedly from the Hotel Association, Chamber of Commerce and the Tourists' Bureau.

Smiling and shuffling like the Uncle Toms of another day, the Zulus left the mayor's office for a meeting where the membership (20) was to vote on whether to parade or not. It was clear to observers at the meeting that when the Mayor reassured the Zulus that money was forthcoming and that it was important for the Zulus to clown and act the fool for the white tourists the parade was definitely on. The meeting that Wednesday night was merely anticlimax. For a few thousand dollars, New Orleans' business interests have literally 'hired' the Zulu Club to clown, dance and jump for the visiting tourists as if to prove that the 'southern way of life' is worthy of emulation.

The Zulus have practically turned their backs on the Negro community by completely ignoring hundreds of requests not to parade in the same disgraceful, disorderly and despicable way just for a few dollars and laughs from the white folks. The fact that 26 African nations have gained their freedom in the past few years and hold seats in the United Nations with respect and honor and would not look kindly on this despicable display of bad taste by making mockery of a proud and honorable African tribe did not reach the Zulus. All they could see was the white face and green money.

The Zulus really have no place to go, for not a Negro owned and operated tavern wants them to come within six blocks. . . .

The Negro community will not soon forget Mayor Morrison's uncalled for interest in the Zulu parade. His visit to the Zulus' meeting Wednesday night in white tie and tails to learn the results of the vote to parade surprised many who have been in his corner a long time. There have been many meetings of solid and substantial groups who have invited the Mayor to attend but he has always been too busy. Further, there are many more important problems that affect the Negro in this community that cannot get the ear of the Mayor much less a personal visit. The Mayor's stock with the Negro com-

munity was low enough. Now it has reached rock bottom. His interest in the Zulus, when the overwhelming majority of the community is against the Zulus' parading, gives an insight into how much he really thinks of us.

AFRICAN STUDENTS PROTEST

AFRICAN students in America, some at least, did protest against the 'Zulu 'Farce.'' On February 25, *The Louisiana Weekly* carried this story:

A resolution protesting the misrepresentation of the Zulu parade during the recent Mardi Gras towards African culture and personality, was presented to Mayor 'Chep' Morrison.

The resolution was presented by Onuebu Muoleeh, secretary of The All African Student Union of the Americas, Inc., New Orleans chapter.

Strongly opposed to the antics which do not represent the Zulu tribe of the Union of South Africa, Muoleech asserted that the local chapter of the A.A.S.U.A. has resolved that the Zulu parade on Mardi Gras day sponsored by the Zulu Carnival Club, 'threatens the good and friendly relations of African and American peoples, which we are building.'

In a letter to the Mayor, which contained the resolution, the local union secretary stated the following:

'The All African Students Union of the Americas, Inc., New Orleans chapter wish to bring to your notice the feelings and protests towards the misrepresentation of Zulu Parade of Mardi Gras towards African culture and personality. . . .'

OPEN OCCUPANCY

NEW Housing and Home Finance Administrator Dr. Robert C. Weaver gives his views on open occupancy. He declares:

Enforced residential segregation is a relatively recent phenomenon in American cities. Its true beginnings coincide with the rise of suburbia, where one of the principal sales appeals has long been exclusiveness. Recently, more and more emphasis has been placed upon single-class, all-white neighborhoods in new developments. Soon it was institutionalized into racial ghettos. . . .

This free access of minorities to housing, or open occupancy, is the best possible insurance against further ghettoization of our cities. The first effect of open occupancy would be to syphon off a segment of the middle-income non-whites now in segregated areas. This would reduce densities, diminish the pressure of demand for a limited supply of housing and thereby relieve, to some degree, the inflationary pressure in the non-white housing market. More important, open occupancy would facilitate movement of middle-income non-white families to the suburbs. Not only would this give minorities more equal housing opportunities, but it would do much to take the prestige out of racial exclusiveness.

Removal of impediments to the free movement of non-whites, while an indispensable element, is not enough in itself. A large part of the problem of shelter is purely economic. There is a sizable segment of both white and Negro families with insufficient income to afford decent housing. Those who have the ability but not the opportunity to earn adequate incomes must, through removal of age, sex and color job discriminations, be freed from their disadvantages. Fair employment and fair housing practices will reduce the need for social and financial assistance. Just as there must be full employment before there can be fair employment, so an adequate supply of shelter is required if we are to achieve fair housing practices.

UPI

CLIFTON R. WHARTON, *Foreign Service career officer and currently U. S. Minister to Rumania, has been appointed by President Kennedy as the new American Ambassador to Norway. Mr. Wharton is a native of Baltimore, Maryland.*

"MARGINAL WORKERS"

THE Washington Post (February 18, 1961) has this editorial comment on discrimination against the Negro worker:

> Last to be hired, first to be fired, Negroes in America continue to be marginal employees, arbitrarily cut off by their color from any full development of the faculties. Herbert Hill, labor secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, has delivered a staff report on racism within organized labor that is a tragic and terrible indictment.
>
> When the AFL and the CIO merged in December, 1955, the elimination of racism in trade unions was one of their announced goals. Says the NAACP report:
>
> > Today, five years after the AFL-CIO merger, the national labor organization has failed to eliminate the broad pattern of racial discrimination and segregation in many important affiliated unions. Trade union activity in the civil rights field since the merger has not been marked by a systematic and coordinated effort by the national labor federation to eliminate discrimination and segregation within local unions.
>
> The report is detailed and damningly specific. In the construction, transportation and maritime trades especially—in pretty nearly all skilled occupations, to tell the truth—discrimination against Negroes limits their opportunities, holding them down often to the most menial tasks where it does not exclude them from employment altogether.
>
> The discrimination takes diverse forms—from control of hiring halls which make no Negro referrals to denial of apprentice training opportunities, from rigidly segregated locals to separated lines of seniority. In parts of the South, Alabama especially, the Ku Klux Klan and White Citizens Councils have moved into many local unions and made them in effect, extensions of segregationist organizations.
>
> In more progressive and more northerly communities — in Washington, D.C., for example, where Local 26 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers continues to afford an especially blatant example of the discriminatory use of union power — Negro workers come up against an absolute wall of rejection, even when they seeks jobs in vast Federal construction projects. Token hiring of one or two 'demonstration' Negroes hardly mitigates the discrimination.
>
> The AFL-CIO bears a heavy responsibility for this defiance of its democratic pretensions by constituent unions. Perhaps the AFL-CIO cannot make its members behave democratically. If that is the case, the United States Government may have to take a hand. For it is under the authority of Federal law that unions act as bargaining agents for all the workers, white and colored alike, within a given calling. To doom thousands of workers and their families to a marginal economic existence simply because their skins are dark is not only a manifest injustice but also a grave blow to the national welfare. The country needs the strength and skill of all its workers.

EFFECTS RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

THIS testimony of the effects of racial discrimination upon Negroes comes from the white pastor of the Pulaski Heights Christian Church, Little Rock, Arkansas. We quote three paragraphs (from *New South*, January, 1961):

> In the sight of God everything that thwarts the development of a wholesome personality in another person is evil and sinful. Yet it is just that nature

of racial discrimination to din constantly into the ears of the Negro that he is inferior and that he is of little worth compared to his white neighbors. He is constantly forced to live in a society which treats him as some strange being who is less than human. Somehow because of his race he is shunted off into separate schools; he is told that he is not good enough to eat just anywhere he would like or to visit just any park he would prefer; he is told that he is not good enough to hold down the better-paying jobs. By the practice of racial discrimination we insist that the Negro act as some kind of inferior mistake of God.

We well know what happens when we constantly tell a person that he is no good. As a parent I know what would happen to my son if from his birth I dinned into his ear that he was not as good as other people. I know the tragic results of what would happen if I daily told him not to do this or not to do that because he was 'different' and not deemed worthy of the privileges other people have. I would so destroy my son's spirit that in all likelihood the state would take him away from me, denouncing me as a father who is unworthy of parenthood. Yet this is exactly what we white people are doing every day as we continue to condone the practice of racial discrimination. We white people are in a vicious conspiracy to twist and contort the souls of countless children who become the objects of our destruction because they are Negroes. God knows our sins, and let us soberly observe that God is not mocked.

PRESIDENT KENNEDY *and Mrs. Weaver looking on as Dr. Robert C. Weaver is sworn in as Federal Housing Administrator in a White House ceremony. Herbert Miller (R), assistant executive clerk of the White House, administers the oath.*

UPI

In the fact of this enormous evil in which we all share, there is no doubt that religiously motivated action is required. We must act in the name of God to end this tragic conspiracy against a portion of God's children. We must recognize racial discrimination and segregation as a sin against man and God. We must help our community to see the immorality of our present racial attitudes and actions. . . .

SALAZAR CRUMBLING?

THESE excerpts from the *New Statesman* (London, February 3, 1961) are a fitting complement to Senhor Andrade's piece on Portuguese colonialism. Antônio de Oliveira Salazar has been dictator of Portugal since 1932. The London weekly writes:

The cruise of the *Santa Maria* has succeeded brilliantly in its primary object. It has divested Dr Salazar of his cherished myth that his dictatorship was popular. For the first time in his 30 years rule, the world outside has been made forcibly aware of the extent and bitterness of the opposition to his regime. For decades, Salazar has kept his country out of the headlines. Now, by an inspired *coup de théâtre*, his enemies have jerked Portugal into the news.

Yet much of Salazar's elaborately-constructed facade still remains. A large section even of well-informed British opinion still accepts the view—assiduously promoted by British businessmen with Portuguese interests—that the dictatorship is essentially benign; that it has brought Portugal political calm, monetary stability, steady economic growth, rising living standards and social progress; and that all this has been achieved, by authoritarian methods to be sure, but with the minimum of beastliness. . . .

Social conditions. Accurate statistics on Portuguese living standards (housing, consumer purchases, etc.) are difficult to obtain. But some revealing glimpses have been provided by the UN agencies. Dr Rao, of FAO's Nutrition Division, calculates, for instance, that the average Portuguese calory intake in the period 1954-55 was the lowest in Europe and was comparable to that of Tunisia and the Congo (cf. *New Scientist*, 21 July 1960). According to a report made by the Portuguese Medical Association (*Boletim da Ordem dos Medicos*, March 1960), the incidence of tuberculosis and TB mortality rates in Portugal are the highest in Europe.

The same body found that the infant mortality rate, in the first year of live births, was 88 per 1,000 in Portugal, against an average of 50 per 1,000 for 102 other countries. In 1925, a year before the *coup d'état* which led to Salazar's accession, infant mortality in Portugal was lower than in Czechoslovakia, Japan and Singapore. In 1960, according to the WHO *Epidemological and Vital Statistics Report*, it was twice as high as in these three countries. Infant mortality is a trustworthy index of general social and economic conditions: these figures, therefore, provide concrete backing for the widespread feeling among the Portuguese that they are falling seriously behind the rest of the world in the struggle for a better life. This is undoubtedly the biggest single factor in the agitation against Salazar.

Thirdly, the nature of the regime. There is not only negative but also positive censorship of the press—that is, publications are obliged to insert the government's version of events. All opposition political parties are banned and political meetings forbidden. Since 1945, in deference to the view of his allies, Salazar has held three presidential 'elections,' permitting parties to be formed during the 30-day campaign period. . . .

RACIAL JUSTICE

A PASTORAL letter was issued, separately, in February by the Most Rev. Thomas J. McConough, Bishop of Savannah, Georgia; the Most Rev. Francis E. Hyland, Bishop of Atlanta, Georgia; and the Most Rev. Paul J. Hallinan, Bishop of Charleston, South Carolina. The letter was read at all Sunday Masses (February 19) of Catholic churches in the three dioceses. We quote the forceful paragraphs:

The issue of racial justice is not new, nor is it only southern. Only the urgency is new, and this is true in every part of the United States where racial discrimination is practised. Twice in recent years, in 1943 and 1958, the Catholic Bishops of the United States have outlined the Christian position. In their annual letter of 1958, these two vital points were made:

(1) 'It is unreasonable and injurious to the rights of others that a factor such as race, by and of itself, should be made a cause of discrimination . . .'

(2) 'Legal segregation, or any form of compulsory segregation, in itself and by its very nature, imposes a stigma of inferiority upon the segregated people.'

All Catholic people in the United States are coming to realize, as the Bishops said, that 'the time has come to cut through the maze of secondary or less essential issues, and to come to the heart of the problem. The heart of the race question is moral and religious. It concerns the rights of man and our attitude toward our fellow man. . . .'

To assure all men that the Church is moving steadily toward the full Christian solution, we affirm this policy for the Diocese of Charleston:

(1) Catholic pupils, regardless of color, will be admitted to Catholic schools as soon as this can be done with safety to the children and the schools. Certainly this will be done not later than the public schools are opened to all pupils.

(2) The Negro schools will be continued as long as there is need for them. Their purpose is to reach and teach the Negro, not to segregate him.

(3) During 1961, this diocese will undertake a program of preparation for its people. Pastoral letters, sermons, study clubs and school instruction will explain the full Catholic teaching on racial justice.

This affirmation for our diocese is not just a minimum approach to full Christian justice. In a region where our Catholic population is less than 2%, it is an honest effort to influence a way of life that has prevailed for many decades. Millions of people have accepted this way of life in good faith. Now, both whites and Negroes face a tremendous challenge—to live in a community with full Christian justice for both.

This is only one of many tasks facing our Church. The racial problem does not exist in a vacuum. It must be solved in the wider context of our missionary work. The Bishop, therefore, will prudently judge the appropriate time and conditions in such a way that the schools and the children, whether white or Negro, will not suffer by the change. . . .

CORRECTION

The picture published at page 637 of the December 1960 *Crisis* is from the Pittsburgh, California, and not the Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, branch. First lady depicted at left (seated) is Mahalie and not Makolie Forrest.

Along the N.A.A.C.P. Battlefront

SIT-INS IN SOUTH CAROLINA

JULIA WRIGHT, an "ex-sit-inner," is now directing stepped-up sit-in demonstrations against jim-crow lunch counter facilities by Association youth units in the state of South Carolina.

More than 100 students from Benedict College and Stark Theological Seminary are particpating in the Columbia sit-ins which are "part of an all-out campaign that will persist until eating bias barriers are beaten," according to Rev. I. D. Newman, NAACP field secretary in Columbia. Numerous NAACP youths have been arrested at Eckard's Pharmacy, the only store that has requested that police arrest the demonstrators. Their fellows formed a picket line in front of the jail and police proceeded to arrest an additional 13 "for obstructing the sidewalk." The South Carolina NAACP arranged bail.

NAACP sit-ins in Columbia are under the leadership of David Carter, 26, president of the Benedict College Intercollegiate NAACP unit. He is enrolled at Stark Theological Seminary.

Miss Wright, who will give guidance to the South Carolina sit-ins, is an experienced hand at direct action tactics. She was one of the two leaders of the famed March 15, 1960, demonstration at Orangeburg, S. C.

NAACP OPPOSES FEDERAL FUNDS FOR SEGREGATED SCHOOLS

THE Association has announced emphatic opposition to the allocation of any federal funds to states which still maintain segregated school systems.

A memorandum reminding all local units of the NAACP in 45 states of a national convention resolution opposing the allocation of federal monies for education to those states which have continued to defy the Supreme Court ruling of 1954 has been sent to local officers by Roy Wilkins, national executive secretary.

Branches of the NAACP were asked to write their senators and congressmen calling upon them to support an amendment denying funds to such states.

The NAACP position was made more explicit in a statement submitted to *The New York Herald Tribune* in answer to its question: Do you feel that federal money should be withheld from school districts which have not desegregated their schools, or do you believe that the problems of segregation or desegregation should be solved separately from those of education?"

All funds presently going to the states for education, including school lunch programs, research, land grant allocation, agricultural monies, etc., should be withheld, the NAACP declared, "if the programs administered with said funds are racially segregated or discriminatory."

The NAACP statement to the New York newspaper also urged a review of the present allocations to states "which have instituted desegregation on a minimum, token, or extremely long-term basis, or under legislative or administrative machinery designed to postpone indefinitely compliance with the 1954 ruling."

In such states the NAACP suggested that federal funds should be allocated "on the basis of the average of pupils in daily attendance in integrated school districts only."

"The Constitution is the federal compact of all the states," the NAACP statement declared, "and the three branches of the federal government, as well as the governments of the states, are obligated to uphold and protect it.

"It seems to us well within this obligation to uphold and protect for the legislative and executive branches of the federal government, or either of them, to refuse to continue the subsidization of defiance by certain of the states of the ruling of the nation's Supreme Court on constitutionality."

The NAACP branded as not "valid" any talk of separating problems of desegregation in public education from the problems of education.

Any attempted separation, it said, "would mean merely untangling and improving education for white youth while leaving desegregation to the resourceful whimsies of chance, politics, bigotry and manifold economic and personal pressures . . . the continued crippling of more than two million Negro youth preparing for life in 1980."

MAY 17 DEMONSTRATIONS IN 45 STATES

Forty-five NAACP state conference presidents, representing 1,434 units, have been asked by the NAACP Executive Secretary, Roy Wilkins, to initiate plans for May 17 anniversary meetings and demonstrations outdoors at their respective state capitol buildings.

State organizations should call for the ending of segregation and discrimination throughout their state and in every phase of life.

This will mark the seventh anniversary of the U. S. Supreme Court's school integration ruling. However, only six per cent of the eligible Negro youngsters in the seventeen states and the District of Columbia schools affected by the decision have been integrated.

As a result, 2,500,000 Negro children are still forced to attend separate and unequal schools.

The Association said neither white nor Negro children would be able to meet the demands of their world "if by some intellectual spin-out, or some political pretense, or some timid withdrawal, segregation in schools in some fashion is separated from schools."

The NAACP warned its members to beware of congressmen who vote for a non-segregation amendment and when it wins and is placed in the bill, to vote against the bill itself.

A considerable number of congressmen pulled this stunt in the House last session and then solicited the support of their Negro constituents by declaring they had voted for the Powell amendment. They never bothered to explain that they had voted against the bill that contained the Powell amendment.

NAACP SIT-IN LEADER STABBED

LENNY GLOVER, an NAACP student leader, was severely stabbed by an unknown white assailant during a peaceful sit-demonstration in Columbia.

Dr. C. O. Spann, who performed an emergency operation on the 24-year-old pre-theology student from Benedict College, said at the time that young Glover's condition was "grave" and could have been "fatal."

The unprecedented sit-in stabbing came on the heels of the arrest of 192 Negro college students who took part in a peaceful demonstration in Columbia on March 2.

Spearheaded by the NAACP intercollegiate college chapter, more than 200 students demonstrated against the state's virtually ironclad bias in employment and public accommodations. They also sought to protest against the racist policies of the state's Committee on Segregation. NAACP youth participants came from eight South Carolina cities. Although other groups have held demonstrations in Columbia, Harry C. Walker, legal assistant to the governor, told the students that they could walk around the capitol "like anybody else" but that if larger groups marched, it would be considered a demonstration.

City and state police told the students, neatly dressed and in orderly lines, that they had 15 minutes to disperse. The students continued to march and the mass arrests began. Those arrested were taken to the city courthouse by carloads. A white freshman from the University of S. Carolina, Frederick Hart, 17, reached over to shake hands with a Negro student in a police car on the way to jail. Asked if he were an NAACP member, young Hart, a native of Falls Church, Va., responded. "I have just joined." He was arrested.

The NAACP furnished nearly $10,000 in bonds to secure release of the students after they spent the night in jail. Also arrested was the Rev. I. DeQuincey Newman, NAACP field secretary for South Carolina.

In a wire to Gov. Ernest F. Hollings, Roy Wilkins protested the

"unwarranted arrests." He pointed out that the arrests were based on the technicality "that demonstrators were making illegal use of the statehouse grounds."

Secretary Wilkins reminded the governor that "the rights of free speech, peaceful assembly and petition of redress of grievances are all guaranteed by the constitution."

NAACP GREETS ANTI-BIAS ORDER

IN the NAACP view, President Kennedy's executive order establishing a new committee to fight bias in hiring by the government and its contractors "can be a major step forward in the continuing effort to end racial discrimination in this country.

"How far it will go in this direction depends, as the order itself notes, upon the vigor, consistency and thoroughness with which it is enforced," Roy Wilkins said in a statement issued on March 7.

Alluding to the President's own assertion that his administration is "dedicated" to the cause of equal job opportunity in hiring by government or its contractors, Mr. Wilkins declared, "it will require such dedication" to make the order effective, especially in the South.

Too many contractors in the South, Mr. Wilkins asserted, "have come to believe that their non-discrimination obligations can be satisfied by tokens or by lip-service." Decisive action at the outset, the NAACP leader said, will yield "manifold gains later by dispelling these assumptions. . . ."

In concluding, Mr. Wilkins stressed that Vice-President Lyndon B. Johnson, who will head the new job opportunity committee, has "an unparelled opportunity to set a historic pace in this phase of the march toward fair treatment for all Americans."

The President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunities, as the agency will be known, represents Mr. Kennedy's first major civil rights action.

It replaces two committees set up by President Eisenhower—the Committee on Government Employment Policy and the Committee on Government Contracts.

Secretary of Labor Arthur Goldberg will serve the new committee as its vice-chairman and will exercise general supervision over the program.

The order setting up the committee takes effect in thirty days. It empowers the committee to require that every company doing work for the government sign a new, much more comprehensive clause against discrimination.

Contracting companies, including subcontractors, will have to submit compliance reports to the new committee, open their books to it and take other steps to assure they are bias-free when hiring. Expanded powers of investigation and enforcement are provided.

RACIAL CONSIDERATIONS IN PUBLIC OFFICE

WHERE racial discrimination of long standing has produced severe competitive disadvantages, racial factors may have to be weighed in filling public offices, warned Dr. John Morsell, assistant to executive secretary Roy Wilkins. Dr. Morsell was commenting upon so-called "Negro jobs" in the New York City government.

"This may be deplorable from a purist standpoint, but it is unlikely to change in the predictable future," he told a gathering of the Lexington Democratic Club in New York City.

Such being the case, Negro citizens will not be enthusiastic about having the individual merit principle applied to them alone, "especially since they start from a point so far behind in the race. They believe that they should be adequately represented and that no problems exist in finding Negroes capable of handling the assignments," the NAACP official declared.

Dr. Morsell's remarks were made at a panel discussion on "Minorities in the Metropolis" sponsored by the political club during its annual conference in New York recently.

MR. AND MRS. JULIAN A. BLACK *(R) hand over one-third interest in their Chicago real estate firm to Chicago, Illinois, branch president Dempsey Travis. Black's attorney Aaron Payne second from left; insurance executive George Harris second from right. Mr. Black was a former manager of ex-heavyweight champion Joe Louis. Mr. Black, whose gift will net the branch between $5,000 and $7,000 a year, has retired from business.*

Ted Bell

What the Branches Are Doing

Delaware: Attorney Louis L. Redding was principal speaker at a recent meeting of the WILMINGTON branch held in the Bethel AME Church.

Gold pins were presented to volunteer workers who had obtained from 20-50 members, and to those who enrolled 50-100 members as individual workers. Those receiving pins, in the 20-50 group, were Carroll Bailey, Dr. Leon Anderson, Rev. Dr. J. L. Morgan, Mrs. Martha Morris, Jessica McMillan, Littleton Mitchell, Mrs. Sue Wisher, Mrs. Francis Coleman, Mildred Deloatch, Mrs. Mary Shelton, Addie Turner, Mrs. Ada Anderson, Leon Fisher of Lincoln University, Earle Gordon, Ruth Burton, Mrs. Katie Koeller, and Mrs. Jane Mitchell.

In the 50-100 group they were Alaveta Hudson, Mrs. Sarah Beulah, Mrs. Reba DeShields, Mrs. Evelyn Booker, Ruth Bornman, Mrs. Mollie Fleming, George Johnson, Levi Hurtt, and Mr. Moyer.

Winner of the Stubbs Award for 1960 was William Park, who signed up 260 new members.

Campaign teams in second and third place were headed by Mrs. Mollie Fleming and Mrs. Louella Tate, respectively.

New branch officers are Rev. Maurice J. Moyer, president; Mrs. Anne King, vice-president; Mildred Deloatch, recording secretary; Mrs. Nola Grant, corresponding secretary; and Luther Porter, treasurer.

Illinois: The CHICAGO branch issued a policy statement in February on public education. Here are the main paragraphs:

As a branch of the NAACP, the Chicago NAACP sets forth herein its policy on the issue of public school education in Chicago in line with the national policy and based upon conditions peculiar to Chicago.

The federal government has become keenly aware of the condition of physical apartness within the Chicago community. The Federal Civil Rights Commission Report of 1959 concluded that Chicago is the most residentially segregated large City in the Nation. Therefore it is incumbent upon the chief educational agency of the City, namely the Board of Education, to recognize this unfortunate condition of Chicago and in the process of school districting consider the total consequences of patterning school district boundaries after residentially segregated neighborhood boundaries.

The NAACP believes that the factor of segregated schools deserves more consideration in determining school districting than does the factor of proximity. The NAACP expresses its firm position that the Chicago public schools cannot ignore the existence of "inferior schools" as opposed to "desirable schools." The

Board of Education has a responsibility to equalize all schools, as much as is humanly possible, by making available the same amount of teacher-experience and teacher-qualification, the same amount of teaching equipment, the same curricula and text book aids, and the same average classroom memberships throughout the City. If segregated neighborhoods makes the concept of the neighborhood school an instrument of segregated education then the neighborhood school must not take precedence over the establishment of equal educational opportunities. There can be no equality of educational opportunities with a segment of the school population going to overcrowded, double-shift, and disproportionately substitute-staffed schools, while others are attending schools all day under normal conditions. Beyond this, the Chicago child should not, nor should any child, be denied the experience of growing up and receiving his basic education in a social situation tailor-made for broadened outlook and wholesome and interesting challenge; namely, a racially and culturally integrated society. In this light a strong and effective program of human relations is a definite need for the Chicago Public Schools. . . .

The NAACP opposes any practice of withholding opportunities for advancement or assignment to its personnel, both teacher and administrative, on the basis of race, religion, or any other prejudicial factor.

Finally the NAACP is bound by the purposes for which it exists to seek legal action in any case where it appears that the Board of Education refuses or is reluctant to, change its existing practices which, whether stated or not, result in a "separate and unequal" school system in Chicago.

THE ILLINOIS CONFERENCE OF NAACP BRANCHES has launched a statewide campaign for passage of a fair employment practices law. (Illinois is the last great industrial state without a fair employment act outlawing discriminatory job practices.)

Some of the findings in a comprehensive statewide survey, says President Dr. L. H. Holman, reveal the following unpleasant facts:

MASSAC COUNTY: In and around Metropolis—known as the "Mississippi of Illinois"—the two largest atomic energy plants, both holding federal government contracts, employ ONE NEGRO out of more than 600 employees. Some of the unions cooperate with companies in not referring Negroes.

STATE OF ILLINOIS: Negroes have been denied jobs on state highway construction projects.

WOOD RIVER: Not one Negro out of 5,000 employees works in any of the three largest oil refineries in Illinois—all of which hold federal government contracts. A nondiscrimination pledge hangs on their walls.

CHICAGO: 98 per cent of job-orders placed by companies bar qualified non-whites from office jobs.

Twenty per cent of the companies rejected applicants of the Catholic and Jewish faiths as well as members of various nationality groups.

The survey shows that similar conditions exist in all parts of the state—

Cecil Layne

MASONS JOIN UP—*Most Worshipful Prince Hall Lodge Free and Accepted Masons of the State of New Jersey present a $500 check to John Morsell, assistant to NAACP executive secretary, as payment-in-full for its NAACP life membership. Pictured from left are Kenneth Wilkerson, Most Worshipful Grand Secretary; John Morsell; and Robert Gwaltney, Most Worshipful Grand Master.*

Bloomington, Aurora, East St. Louis, Granite City.

Michigan: The DETROIT branch's sixth annual $100 fight-for-freedom dinner on April 9 was headed by Damon Keith and Dr. James J. McClendon.

Membership meeting of the FLINT branch was held on February 19 at the St. John Community Center. Annual spring dance of the branch was held on March 18 at the Lebanon Community Center.

Missouri: The ST. LOUIS branch wired Postmaster J. Edward Day and both U. S. senators from Missouri urging them to oppose the appointment of Harold Jinks, a Faubus-democrat of Piggott, Arkansas, as regional-opera-

tions director of the post-office department at St. Louis. Mr. Jinks is the same person who, as a regional representative of the Democratic National Committee, insisted upon racial segregation at a Democratic party dinner in Little Rock in October of 1959.

The St. Louis branch announces the opening of an upgrading program, on an adult level, for men presently engaged in the construction trades, through classes sponsored by the Midwest Contractors Association in conjunction with CIU Local No. 99, Construction Workers Union.

Nebraska: George W. Cooper of the COUNCIL BLUFFS branch has proposed the setting up of an Iowa-Nebraska state conference of NAACP branches.

New Jersey: Jack E. Wood, special assistant in housing for the NAACP, was guest speaker at a meeting of the MONTCLAIR branch on January 31. The program also included a review of the history of the local branch.

Mrs. Catlett received freedom-fund awards for her leadership of the branch during 1960: for increase in membership from 407 to 1,020, for exceeding the freedom-fund goal of $1,000, and for sending $1,300 to the national office.

New York: The FAR ROCKAWAY-INWOOD branch observed brotherhood month by jointly sponsoring a dinner with the Five Towns Forum on February 19. Approximately 400 guests attended to hear Ossie Davis, noted Broadway and TV actor give the principal address. Among the evening's events was presentation of $500 to the branch by Mrs. Emma Brier, on behalf of the Five Towns Forum, for an NAACP life membership.

A life membership plaque was presented to Mrs. Tammer Screvenn of the Martha Chapter #26, Order of Eastern Star, Brooklyn.

Mrs. Ella Lee, branch treasurer for fifteen years, and Mrs. Vivian Kuch, past secretary of the branch, were presented certificates of merit for their long services to the Association.

Members of the NEW YORK STATE NAACP marched on Albany on February 28 to oppose passage of a housing bill which had already received the approval of Governor Nelson Rockefeller. Dr. Eugene T. Reed of Amityville, state president; and Attorney George Fleary of Brooklyn were leaders of the protest march. The board of the AMITYVILLE branch had made a decision to conduct a mass march.

"Strengthening the NAACP for Tomorrow's Battles" was the theme of the annual installation-meeting of the GREAT NECK-MANHASSET-PORT WASHINGTON-ROSLYN branch held on February 26. Officers were installed by Father Robert C. Chapman of Hempstead, and consist of the following: Robert Cox, president; Rev. J. A. Belton, first vice-president; Jesse Alexander, second vice-president; Mrs. William Harris, secretary; and Elizabeth Higgins, treasurer.

The ROCHESTER branch designated February 19 as "Bean Sunday"

and during this day monies were collected to help the evicted farmers in Tennessee. The novel idea was originated by Mrs. Benona Gradford, president of the Williamsbridge branch.

A career conference, primarily for minority-group high-school students, was recently sponsored by the SPRING VALLEY branch and attended by over 70 students and 15 parents. After an address by Janice Porter of the National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students, the conference then went into four counselling workshops.

The WHITE PLAINS branch has awarded certificates of merit to Mrs. Ida Hall, Ernestine Wright, Mrs. Amanda Scott, Mrs. Margaret Hughes, Addie Schenck, Mrs. Rebecca Williams, Mrs. June Reed, Mrs. Irma Bowser, and Mrs. Anne Bethea. A certificate of appreciation was given Mrs. Bea Terry for her work for the freedom fund.

Pennsylvania: In its January monthly report, PHILADELPHIA branch executive secretary James K. Baker offers the following suggestions to "mass communication media" in reporting news about Negroes:

Negroes are people and 'purchasers of the wares' of our newspapers, radio and TV stations; for both reasons their weddings and engagements, births, deaths, vacations, charity drives, church sermons, etc., warrant publication where 'news judgment' would dictate coverage if the people involved were white.

At least where more than a couple of paragraphs are devoted to or passing mention is made of a citizen-police altercation, the citizen's version of what happened is as newsworthy (maybe more) as the arresting officer's account. At any rate, if it is a *news* story, intellectual honesty demands the printing of the whole story.

If strictly news media are themselves unwilling to affirmatively 'structure' integration as a general policy they could give relative substantial coverage of community people and groups who are actively working at it (i.e., Fellowship House, Fellowship Commission, NAACP, Neighborhood organizations such as the Pelham group in Germantown).

Labelling one in crime stories as 'Negro' serves no useful purpose (whether the alleged criminal be in custody or at large) and does a great deal of harm.

Incidents of racial tension or conflict should be published as 'news,' without subtle editorializing or gratuitous comments or opinions. The suppression of such news on the basis that it may bring riots, etc., is, in the long run, more dangerous as a preventative than the harm it is supposedly designed to cure. Philadelphians, white and black, must *know* their city if its ills are to be righted.

Washington: Officers of the SEATTLE were installed at the January meeting. A general membership meeting was held on February 27.

Wisconsin: Fifty-second anniversary of the NAACP and Negro history week were jointly celebrated by the MILWAUKEE branch February 12-19.

College and School News

Annual founder's day exercises were observed at BENEDICT COLLEGE on March 16. Dr. H. Beecher Hicks, first Negro to be named chairman of the Ohio Pastors Convention, was the featured speaker.

■

Annual religious-emphasis week was observed at BISHOP COLLEGE February 12-17. The leaders were the Rev. Dr. James W. Parrish, pastor of the Shiloh Baptist Church, Columbus, Ohio; and The Rev. J. Castina Jackson, pastor of the Paradise Baptist Church, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

■

The CENTRAL STATE COLLEGE Credit Union reports one of the most active and productive years in its history. The Union lists assets of over an eighth of a million dollars as of the end of 1960, which is in contrast with total assets of only $907.69 in 1951, the first year of the Union's existence.

■

The Wayne county chapter of the FAYETTEVILLE STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE alumni association presented a plaque to President Rudolph Jones for leadership in higher education and for his splendid contribution to the progress of his school.

■

Total non-white population in the greater Detroit area has tripled since 1940, but the rate of increase has slowed significantly in the past decade, THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN Detroit-area study reports. Today, approximately one out of six metropolitan area residents is non-white. Twenty years ago, the proportion was about one in twelve.

Professor Wolfgang Stolper of the university department of economics left on January 28 for Lagos, Ni-

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geria. For the next 18 months, he will draft the second five-year plan for Nigeria, scheduled to start in 1962. Helping him on the project will be Peter B. Clark, UM graduate student in economics.

■

Sixteen students at FISK UNIVERSITY have been named to appear in *Who's Who in American Universities and Colleges* for their outstanding qualities of leadership, scholarship, and citizenship.

Fisk alumni from seventeen major cities held a one-day conference on the university campus on February 11 in connection with the Centennial Anniversary of their alma mater. The alumni phase of the centennial drive for six million dollars for plant improvement and increasing the university's present endowment is under the chairmanship of A. Maceo Walker, class of 1930, a prominent insurance actuary and president of the Universal Life Insurance Company of Memphis, Tennessee.

■

Dr. James Madison Nabrit, Jr., was formally installed as fourteenth president of HOWARD UNIVERSITY during inaugural ceremonies at the University on April 26. Dr. Nabrit served as president of Howard after the retirement of Dr. Mordecai Johnson last July.

The 94th anniversary of the founding of Howard was observed on March 2. Alumni achievement awards were presented to three distinguished graduates: Dr. Anna Bartsch-Dunne, a gynecologist and proctologist; Dr. Ulysses L. Houston, a member of the faculty of the medical school

from 1931 to 1959; and Dr. Inabel Lindsay, dean of the Howard school of social work. All are Washington residents.

Howard will award eight research fellowships to college chemistry teachers this summer under a program which begins June 19 and is open to teachers who hold the M. Sc. degree and who have taught at the college level for at least three years.

Participants in the research program will receive grants to cover travel, tuition, and fees. In addition, they will be paid stipends of $600 each, plus $120 a dependent, up to four. The program is being financed by a grant of $13,470 from the National Science Foundation.

■

TOUGALOO SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN COLLEGE observed Christian interpretation week February 26-March 4. Rev. Robert L. James, Jr., chaplain to Protestants at Temple University, Philadelphia, Pa., was leader of the week's activities.

■

Dr. R. O'Hara Lanier, projects director, Phelps-Stokes Fund, was major speaker at the UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND'S fifteenth alumni conference banquet held on February 11 at Bethune-Cookman College, Daytona Beach, Florida.

John E. Bradbury has been named director of the UNCF's Region 1, which includes Boston, Springfield, and Worcester, Massachusetts; Providence, Rhode Island; Hartford, Connecticut; Syracuse and Rochester, New York; and the states of New Hampshire and Vermont.

Bruce Barton, chairman of the board, Batten, Barton, Durstine & Osborn advertising agency, has accepted the national chairmanship of the UNCF's 1961 appeal.

■

A panel discussion, "Training Africans for Immediate Responsibility," was held at THE NEW SCHOOL (New York City) on February 15.

■

"New Dimensions for Women in Government" was theme of the fourth annual Women's Conference held at JOHNSON C. SMITH UNIVERSITY, February 24-25. Mrs. Christine Ray Davis of Washington, D. C., was principal speaker.

The fourth annual JCS public-relations institute was attended by public-relations officers from thirty-one colleges throughout the southeast. Among the speakers were Marion A. Wright, former president of the Southern Regional Council; Dr. John R. Cunningham, executive director of the U. S. Presbyterian Foundation; Dr. Samuel Proctor, president of North Carolina A&T College; and many others.

■

WILLIAM PENN BUSSINESS INSTITUTE (Philadelphia, Pa.) reports four students of the month: Mrs. Mildred McMeans, a business administration major; Mae Grace Hardy, a junior accounting major; Carolyn Vaughn, a major in stenography; and Joyce Slade, a junior accounting major.

■

How a group of prominent New

York residents helped provide soldiers for Massachussetts Negro regiments during the Civil War is revealed by a document now on display at CORNELL UNIVERSITY.

The prominent New York citizens, including Ezra Cornell, who later founded the university bearing his name, raised funds to enable Negroes to travel to Massachussetts and enlist in Negro regiments organized there. New York state authorized no Negro regiments during the Civil War.

Some of the Negroes aided by Cornell and his friends enlisted in the famous 54th Massachussets Regiment, the first Negro regiment from a free state mustered into the Union Army. It was led by Robert Gould Shaw, member of a leading Boston family, who was killed leading his troops in 1863.

■

MORGAN STATE COLLEGE is one of the few undergraduate schools in the state of Maryland that operates its own speech clinic and speech proficiency program as a college service for its entire student body. The clinic has been in operation for the past ten years and is open to any student registered in the college who demonstrates a need for its special services.

■

"Morgan State College has set a record in productive scholarship and creative activities that is to be envied by the undergraduate faculties of our colleges and universities."

These are the words used by one committee member in reference to a chapter in the book, *Compensation Practices on the Campus*, written by Dr. Virgil A. Clift, professor of education and head of the department at Morgan.

■

VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE celebrated the seventy-ninth anniversary of its founding on March 5, with the founder's day message being delivered by Rev. Samuel L. Gandy, dean of the chapel at Dillard University.

First annual women's week was observed at VSC March 6-12. Religious emphasis week was held March 12-16.

Funeral services for Mrs. Ruth T. Baker, assistant professor of English at VTS, were held in the college chapel on January 25. For twenty-two years she was a member of the college community; for twelve, she was a member of the college English faculty.

■

Eight students of NORFOLK STATE COLLEGE (Norfolk, Va.) are cited in *Who's Who Among Students in American Universities and Colleges*. This is the second consecutive year that NSC students have been chosen for inclusion in this book. Students included this time are Carolyn Chesson, Juanita Chandler, Vir-

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ginia Delk, Eula Mae Dent, Hilda Goodwyn, Margaret Sears, Wilbert Lee Sherrod, and Barbara Upton.

■

BOSTON UNIVERSITY president Harold C. Case delivered the commencement address at Temple University (Philadelphia) on February 16. His speech, "The African Dawn," was based partly upon his experiences last winter when he visited Africa in the interests of higher education.

■

HAMPTON INSTITUTE observed 68th founder's day in February. Two Hampton alumni were among the speakers: Judge Roger M. Yancey of the Essex county court in New Jersey; and Charles H. Williams, member of the college's board of trustees.

■

SHAW UNIVERSITY observed religious-emphasis week February 26-March 2.

Rabbi Abe W. Schoen, spiritual leader of the Beth Meyer Synagogue in Raleigh, has recently been appointed to the faculty of the school of religion.

Among recent speakers at Shaw have been Mrs. Vivian Mason, public relations consultant, American Christian Palestine Committee; Dr. Charles Lyons, dean, Elizabeth City State Teachers College; and Dr. Ernest Griffith, dean of the School of International Service, The American University, Washington, D. C.

■

Judge Robert Franklin, a MOREHOUSE COLLEGE alumnus, of Toledo, Ohio, was principal speaker at the college's annual founder's day program on February 20. Morehouse was founded on February 18, 1867, in Augusta, Georgia, by William Jefferson White and Richard Coulter, *et al.*, as the Augusta Institute. It was later moved to Atlanta, where it first became known as the Atlanta Baptist College.

■

The Rev. James H. Robinson, pastor of the Church of the Master, New York City was religious-emphasis week speaker at the ATLANTA UNIVERSITY center February 26-March 1.

Twentieth annual exhibition of painting, sculpture, and prints by Negro artists opened at the university on April 9. The university library is one of sixty college and university libraries to receive a grant ($500) from the Association of College and Research Libraries, a division of the American Library Association.

■

Annual founder's day exercises of VIRGINIA UNION UNIVERSITY were held on February 10. Main speaker for the ninty-sixth year of the Seminary and the sixty-second year of the University was Rev. Andrew W. Adkins, pastor of the Alfred Street Baptist Church, Alexander, Virginia. The December, 1960, issue of the *Virginia Union Bulletin* is "Founders' Day Issue."

The week of prayer was observed at the university March 5-10, with university pastor Rev. Theodore Jones serving as advisor and Theodore Simpkins as student chairman.

Book Reviews

"MUST READING"

***Little Rock, U.S.A. Materials for Analysis.* Selected and edited by Wilson Record and Jane Cassels Record. San Francisco, California: Chandler Publishing Co., 1960. VIII + 338 pp. $2.25 Paper.**

When the time comes to analyze and interpret the facts, to place in its proper perspective the role played by Little Rock in integrating the United States, it will not be necessary to travel from place to place, library to library, squint at newspaper microfilm et cetera because *Little Rock, U. S. A.* "tells the story chronologically, from newspaper accounts, court records and other documents." In this one volume, beginning with the Supreme Court Decisions of 1954-1955 and ending with the re-opening of Central High School in August 1959, are brought together what was done, thought, said, and written in an extraordinary number of publications. Many documents are quoted in full and there is an excellent list of Suggested Additional Readings. Section II gives the reader "The Meaning of Little Rock" through the use of critical comments and observations by editors, journalists, educators, lawyers, businessmen, housewives, government officials, ministers and social scientists. One of the important values of this factual, objective and fully documented book is the preservation of the record of what happened in Little Rock and why. Already, for some, the details of what happened may be somewhat blurred.

For those who followed the Little Rock crisis closely it may be rather painful to read this book because of the necessity to re-live the distress, anxiety, sorrow and despair of the first days of September 1957 and the weeks and months that followed. Reading this book makes it possible to obtain a much more balanced view of what happened and why. It is also possible from *Little Rock, U. S. A.* to get clearer insight into the personalities of the persons directly involved; a broader view of the varied and complicated facets of the issues.

This book by native southerners, from Texas and Georgia, "compiled for the convenience of students writing research papers" is must reading for all who wish to understand what has been predicted and what may eventully be conceded as the most important problem of the twentieth century, "The Problem of the Color Line". *Little Rock, U. S. A.* is must reading especially for those whose responsibility it is to initiate, guide and direct the necessary changes in the United States; for those who wish, through the use of hindsight, to avoid horrible suffering.

violence and mob scenes in the future; for those whites who may wish to learn to love before more non-whites learn to hate.

DR. IRENE DIGGS
Morgan State College
Baltimore, Maryland

Congo Disaster. **By Colin Legum. Baltimore, Maryland: Penguin Books, 1961. A Penguin Special. 174 pp. 85c.**

Shooting At Sharpeville: The Agony of South Africa. **By Ambrose Reeves. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1961. 141 pp. $3.50. 22 pages of photographs.**

Congo Disaster has been written to furnish background for the present Congo crisis. The Congo situation is so fluid that no one can tell day by day what is actually happening there, but the inquisitive reader can, by digesting this book, get the basic facts and issues which will help him interpret today's headlines. "The Congo's threat to world peace in 1960," explains Mr. Legum, "was not the first time it has produced an international crisis. The discovery of the importance of the Congo river, through H. M. Stanley's explorations in 1874, precipitated a crisis that threatened to upset the 'balance of power' in Europe." This led to the famous Berlin Conference of November 15, 1884-February 26, 1885, when the European powers agreed to recognize each other's rights in Africa.

Then there is the sordid story of Leopold II's "civilizing mission" in the Congo (the Congo was his personal property) and the take over of the colony by the Belgium government in 1908. Our author offers an outline of the essentials of Belgium's paternalistic colonialism, a sketch of the rise of the Congolese independence movements, brief sketches of Congolese leaders and their ideas as well as the role of the African states in the present crisis.

This book is indispensable for anyone who wishes to make an intelligent appraisal of the Congo crisis.

Sharpeville is an African township near Vereeniging and about forty-nine miles from Johannesburg. On March 21, 1960, it was scene of the horrific slaughter of sixty-seven harmless Africans. More than 186 others were wounded and the victims also included women and children. These grim incidents are a part of the policies of apartheid and the South African government can be held directly responsible for them. The killings were brutal and pointless, since the police fired without warning into a crowd of peaceably assembled Africans. And they were shot in the back!

Bishop Reeves, who is Bishop of Johannesburg, paints a harrowing picture of what apartheid means in practices. And the photographs at the center of the book extract the real horror of the shooting.

Zik: A selection from the Speeches of Nnamdi Azikiwe. **New York: Cambridge University Press, 1961. VIII + 344 pp. $4.75.**

Road To Ghana. **By Alfred Hutchinson. New York: The John Day Company, 1960. 190 pp. $3.50.**

If the reader wants an outline of the political ideas of the Governor-General of the Federation of Nigeria, Mr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, he will find it here in these speeches and addresses delivered at various times and upon various occasions upon subjects as varied as education, moral re-armament, and the color bar.

Road to Ghana might be called in one sense a travel-diary, with its colorful recital of the joys and hardships the author encountered on his flight from Pretoria, South Africa, to Ghana. Mr. Hutchinson was one of the accused in the South African mass treason trials, and to make it worse he was in love with a white woman. His book is a terrible indictment of apartheid and racialism in southern and central Africa although that was not the author's purpose in writing his book. His

very understatements and matter-of-fact recital of his adventures have a cumulative effect because of the vivid way in which they are told and the author's command of a beautifully descriptive prose.

Profile of Nigeria. **By Leonard S. Kenworthy. Garden City: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1960. 96 pp. $2.50. Illustrated from photographs.**

Art in Nigeria 1960. **By Ulli Beier. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1961. 24 pages text; 77 plates. Cloth $3.75; Paper $1.95.**

Profiles of Nigeria is an ideal book for the intellectually curious youngster who wants to know something about Nigeria. Mr. Kenworthy discusses, in very simple language, such topics as homes and food, clothes, religions, health, markets, arts and crafts, etc. The photographs selected to illustrate the topics are excellent because they illustrate the contrasts in Nigerian life.

Mr. Ulli Beier is a Berliner who has been resident in Nigeria for the past ten years, where he edits the literary magazine *Black Orpheus*. This book is devoted to the contemporary scene, and our author points out: "Most writers on Africa follow the simple formula that old carvings are good and new ones bad; that Africa produced interesting art as long as the tribal organization was intact, but that since the Christian missions have undermined the ancient institutions, art has rapidly declined."

One purpose of Mr. Beier's book is to show "that the situation is a great deal more complicated than that." He points out that the "Nigerian artist finds himself between two groups of people: enthusiastic Europeans, many of whom want him to be exotic and who want to recognize in his work clever adaptations of traditional motifs. Whereas the Nigerian middle class, on the other hand, has no desire to be reminded "in any way of traditional art."

After discussing traditional art and the traditional artists, the author examines contemporary art, commercial art, European architecture in Nigeria, modern European artists in Nigeria, and African carving and modern architecture.

Participants in Chester, Pa., community conference on housing employment bias: (from L) George Raymond, Rev. Edward Odom, keynote speaker; Calvin Banks, Rev. Frederick Randolph, and Rev. R. D. Shirts.